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the West led him to appreciate at its true worth the navigation of the Mississippi; but on the grand question of the day, the constitution, where this Mississippi matter largely determined Henry's position, it was truly said by Washington that the arguments in opposition were "addressed more to the passions than to the reason." Had the great orator been something more than a politician, he would not have committed himself so strongly in resistance to the proposed form of government.

But his position in this matter at least proved the courage of the man. It was characteristic of Henry that once enlisted, he never faltered; and his power seemed to grow in proportion to the opposition. He did not, like Dickinson, state boldly, and fail when to maintain his position involved sacrifice or danger. His steadfastness, however, cannot atone for the errors of his policy. Henry will be better known for his resolutions on the Stamp Act and for some of his speeches, the traditions of which have come down to us, than for any other incidents of his life. He will be the Virginian "Demosthenes," but will never take rank as a statesman.

As to the way in which the author of the present work has performed his task, adequate criticism is scarcely possible in this notice. The views of Mr. Wirt Henry on the amendments to the constitution are novel, and his statements of history not infrequently excite a questioning doubt. He naturally holds a brief for his ancestor, and is much occupied in defending him from the criticisms of Jefferson, Tucker, Taylor and others. With these blemishes, rather than faults, the three volumes contain much new material, and must be the standard biography of a notable figure in Virginian history.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War. By JOHN BACH McMASTER. Volume III. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1892. — 8vo, xvii, 582 pp.

The third of the systematic histories of the Union from its formation to the attempted secession in 1861 is advanced by a volume. Von Holst and Schouler have finished their task. Professor McMaster has now progressed as far as the outbreak of the war of 1812. He covers ground which neither of his rivals has treated in detail: but he has at every step to submit to the formidable comparison with Henry Adams's masterful work. He bears the comparison well.

The third volume (1803-1812) shows the deviation from the author's original plan seen in Volume II. It is no longer a social but a political history; yet a political history of a different kind from any that have

preceded. Perhaps a more accurate title would be : "A History of Public Opinion in the United States." The author constantly strives to set before us, not so much what happened or what were the intentions of the leaders, as what the people were thinking about. Hence his work has a peculiar value to the student. Here are to be found in brief compass the arguments which were days in the uttering and which cover many pages of the *Annals of Congress*. Here are the accounts of public meetings and memorials, drawn from files of forgotten newspapers. Here are abstracts of old pamphlets, with the quip modest and the retort courteous. As in the previous volumes, this material is not always skilfully presented. Instead of happy illustrative quotations the author prefers a restatement in his own words, much resembling the indirect discourse of Cæsar's *Commentaries*. An example is the famous secession speech of Josiah Quincy in 1811 (page 377) ; the pith and force are much impaired by the form into which it is cast. One is often not quite sure whether the author is stating his own sentiments or those of contemporaries ; whether the opinion thus presented in abstract did or did not finally prevail. The footnotes seem less numerous and less valuable than in the earlier volumes. Except for the references to newspapers and to rare pamphlets, there is little new material made available to other students. Indeed the author has not furnished the guidance to the more common materials which would have made up for the lack of precise citations in Hildreth, Schouler and Adams. The dates are not quite liberally enough bestowed, and it requires sometimes an effort to find out where one is. Of the two maps, that showing the territorial development of Ohio is especially valuable.

Professor McMaster's style has in it the life and stir with which his previous works have made us acquainted. It is crisp and direct, yet it leaves upon the mind less specific impression than some homelier books. The effort to be smooth leads to a trick of making up artificial transitions where there is no logical continuity of thought. Let us take an example (pages 16-19) : The city of New Orleans was supplemented by a new town, resulting from the influx of strangers ; with the strangers had come trade ; of this trade the streets of the city gave no indication ; the streets were lined by much-admired buildings, but there were no taverns ; instead people crowded to the levees ; on the levees walked quadrooms ; quadrooms could not enter the lower boxes of the theatre ; theatres were open on Sunday ; people who on Sunday went out to the Tivoli Gardens hastened back to avoid the Alcade ; the Alcade was part of a strange municipal government ; the municipal government was closely connected with the provincial government. This is a chain of silver links united by pack-thread. Another peculiarity is the Walt Whitman habit of enumerations :

At either river bank [he says] could be procured at a moment's notice canoes cut from a single log, pirogues able to carry fifteen barrels of salt, skiffs of from five hundred to twenty thousand pounds burden, bateaux, arks, Kentucky broadhorns, New Orleans boats for use on the Mississippi River, and barges and keel-boats with masts and sails.

Doubtless the author intends the list to leave on the mind the multifariousness of the trade: but the effect is a little fatiguing. A more serious defect is the rhetorical flourish which rounds out a statement into striking form. The New York voter, we are told, must "carry in his pocket a tax-receipt" (page 147). Judge Chase's charge was "read by Jefferson with astonishment and delight" (page 169). "No act so arbitrary, so illegal, so infamous had yet been done by the Senate of the United States," as the impeachment of Pickering (page 173). "The framing of the Constitution of the United States was the direct and immediate consequence of the ruin of every kind of trade, commerce and industry" (page 496). "The Berkshire Hills were covered with sheep" (page 504). Such sweeping statements carry no conviction and they make one feel uneasy.

A different sort of confusion is produced by the long parts of chapters which bring up arrears. The place for a discussion of the land cessions from 1781 to 1802 is plainly in the first volume. A reference to Volume II on the Orders in Council of 1793 and 1794 ought to save several pages in the present volume; and surely to save space is worth while, since it is evident that a history which takes three long volumes for the thirty years from 1783 to 1812 cannot compress into the promised two volumes the eventful fifty years from 1812 to the Civil War.

Considering the quantity of detail in the volume, the positive errors are few and of no great importance. The first Indian treaty was not in 1784 (page 153) but in 1778. No part of Tennessee was ever "public domain" (page 117); the North Carolina grants covered it. Lewis and Clark's expedition (page 142) was planned before the Louisiana cession was made. Jefferson did not deny the legal right of Adams to sign commissions (page 165), and was obliged to remove appointees who had received their commissions. Erskine's treaty was not disowned immediately, but after two or three days (page 348). Neither house of Congress ever had "ten thousand bills on its calendar" (page 399); or saw ten thousand bills introduced, before 1888; and Congresses now put on the statute book nearly two thousand statutes, instead of four hundred. If there was an "utter want of national feeling" in 1812 (page 465), it is difficult to see how the country went through three campaigns in the three years following. Mr. Adams has disposed of the statement that where the war was unpopular, inducements to enlist accomplished nothing (page 543). On pages 497 and 515, 1793 is printed for 1790.

The great merit of this work is that the author has struck out a new path for himself. His plan is deliberately formed and effectively carried out, and it makes a valuable contribution to historical science. In order to find space he has chosen to omit much of the most interesting part of history. He deals with our foreign relations almost entirely as if they were confined to negotiations in America. He denies himself that skilful characterization of men which lends such a charm to Adams's history; it does not fall within his plan to express his own judgment of men or events, or to unravel the intricacies of human nature. Hence the volume is lacking in color and, to a certain degree, in interest. These omissions are made in order to leave room for a kind of information neglected by other writers; the volume abounds with new material and with new views. The author gives us the details of the famous prize cases to which there are so many allusions; he brings out the political meaning of the new West; he gives us a new idea of the development of states; he revives the passion of the popular movement against the embargo. The difference between his plan and that of Henry Adams is brought out by comparing the chapter on the "Economic State of the People" with Adams's final chapter on "American Characteristics." The latter seeks the subtle undercurrents of the nation's life; the former aims to set before us the material condition of the average American. Each accomplishes his purpose. Professor McMaster has produced an unique and an indispensable volume.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

Le Gouvernement dans la Démocratie. Par ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE.

Two volumes. Paris, Félix Alcan, 1891. — xv, 387, 472 pp.

A man of indefatigable industry and of wide experience of men and things, the late Professor de Laveleye has given to the world, at the end of a long life devoted to the study of social and political questions, the result of his observations and his reflections. The work cannot fail, therefore, to interest not only students in these subjects, but the general public as well. M. de Laveleye tells us that he had collected the materials for a work on political economy, but at the suggestion of his friend Dupont White he changed his plan and wrote one on politics instead. As the "great problem of government" is, however, in his opinion economic and social rather than political, this previous preparation would render him peculiarly fitted for the new task which he had set before himself. In fact, a distinctive feature of the book is the conception of government from an economic and social point of view. The acquisition of political liberty by the masses not having brought to